

WILLKIE'S WORLD



An analytical criticism of
Mr. Wendell L. Willkie's
'One World'



DHANWANT OZA

K I T A B G H A R

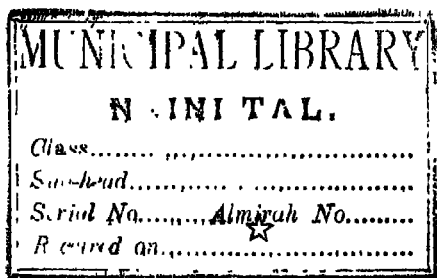
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In gratitude of the sympathy they
showed and thereby saved me from an
emotional crisis which would otherwise
have broken me:

I DEDICATE

This first composition of mine, after
that crisis

TO

H. M.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book was published as No. 2 of the Panna granthavali conducted by the Shashi Publishers (543, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2). The book received a very warm reception. Within a week of its publication all copies were exhausted on the local market. There was quite a large demand from the moffusil. This second edition is brought out to meet that demand.

I have utilized the opportunity afforded by this second edition both in revising and enlarging the book and in improving its get-up.

RAISON D'ÊTRE

Wendell Willkie went round the world, covering thirtyone—thousand miles in fortynine days. He visited thirteen countries, including the Soviet Union, the Middle-East and China. He met numerous outstanding personalities, and still more numerous unknown-but-all-the-same-as-important people. And he came to conclusions and reported them in a hundred and sixtynine-page-book which he very aptly named 'One World.'

Willkie's flight round the world has been an education for him—that is how Earl Browder, the American Communist Leader, had characterized this piece of excellent reportage in a review. Has this 'education of Mr. Willkie' any lessons for us in India, for the freedom loving peoples of the World?

This question is sought to be answered in this essay.

The consequences that will follow upon Axis defeat, the future of the World and of

Anglo-American Finance—Capitalism, the future of the Colonies—all these all important interrogatives, that stare us in the face, and demand an unequivocal, unhesitating answer are present before the mind of this foremost leader of the Republican Party of the United States and the outstanding candidate for American Presidency for 1944. He has given his replies to these. Are the solutions offered by him such as would be acceptable to the freedom loving humanity? Will the Willkie way win the war, and what is more important, will it win the future peace?

Another object of this essay is to attempt an answer to these questions.

A practical and successful finance capitalist that he is, Mr. Willkie's approach to the problem is that of a hard headed objectivity. That objectivity lends to his book a fresh strong quality.

This is not the place for any further critical remarks,—the object of this composition being a critical, analytical presentation. But one opinion can be expressed here—must be expressed here—that Mr. Willkie's book is one

of those that cannot be ignored by those conscious and thinking men and women whose aim in life is the establishment of a just and equitable social order. The spectre that haunts a great section of our freedom loving anti-Facist countrymen—'The Spectre of an Anglo-American Imperialism riding rough-shod over the peoples of the World after the Axis is beaten—is laid by the penetrating keen vision of Mr. Willkie. And Willkie is not alone in this observation—his whole book is full of echoes of similar observations by princes and politicians leaders of the people and generals of the armies, people high and low.

A word about the plan of this essay. Chronological narrative is the method followed by Mr. Willkie in his book. That is, no doubt, the most effective method so far as his objective goes. But with a differing objective, the method also must change. Analytical criticism is the objective of this essay. The ends of analytical criticism would be better served in a subject-wise treatment than in a duration-wise one. The former method is therefore adopted here.

Dhanwant Oza

CONTENTS

Raison D'etre	...	...	V
I. Who is Mr. Wendell Willkie?	...		9
II. Personalities	...	...	15
III. Peoples	...	...	35
IV. War, War-Fronts and problems of strategy	...	...	54
V. Willkie's World	...	...	57
VI. Yes, Mr. Willkie! No, Mr. Willkie!			60
VII. Willkie muddles the water	...		63
Epilogue	...	...	78

WILLKIE'S WORLD

Willkie's World

(AN ANALYTICAL CRITICISM OF
Mr. WENDELL L. WILLKIE'S "ONE WORLD")

I

WHO IS MR. WENDELL WILLKIE?

A personality almost as impressive as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, over 6 ft. in height, weighing about 220 lbs., a brilliant orator and an incisive writer, a keen observer and an amiable conversationalist—such is Mr. Wendell Willkie who has been described as an unofficial ambassador of America and that description is both correct and critical. A high priest of American big finance, an astute politician, a patriot of the first degree, Mr. Willkie is nothing if he

is not a pragmatist. The first test for him for any scheme, any idea or any project is whether it works or not. Within a day of the declaration of the World War I, he joined up in the army as a volunteer, and served as a Lieutenant and was later promoted Captain.

An opponent of Mr. Roosevelt as candidate for president he was a bitter critic of the democratic regime. But on conclusion of the presidential election Willkie came forward with a call for complete national unity, when civilization, culture and all that humanity loves was in a real danger--and that danger has not still vanished completely--of being drowned in a flood of barbarism that fascism known as Hitlerism is. And a little later when the Lease-Lend programme was announced he came forward with an unequivocal approval even though 'Isolationist' leaders of the republican party were dead against it.

Weeks before France fell, Willkie stood out for an all out effort to help preserve French and British democratic ideas. With the fall of France Willkie put forward a new slogan: "Increased aid to Britain." Then he wanted to see the havoc that was wrought in Britain by the savage

Luftwaffe raids and how Britain had taken it. Promptly went Willkie to Roosevelt, and arming himself with a personal message from the President to Mr. Winston Churchill, he flew across the Atlantic Skies and landed in London. Within a few hours of his arrival in Britain he made himself loved and honoured by all classes and sections of the people. Within days he packed an intimacy of years. He lived with Londoners, as one of them and on return to the United States his championship of the more-aid-to-Britain programme became more insistent and emphatic.

Then came the War with Russia, Willkie's championship of his One World thesis gathered a further tempo.

On August 29, 1942 Willkie started from Mitchel Field, New York in a four engined consolidated Bomber converted for transport service and operated by United States army officers. Irony of accidents is sometimes pregnant with great morals. Ironically enough the plane that carried Willkie was named 'The Gulliver'. What Gulliver's travels did for England—a sarcastic self-criticism—Willkie's travels have done and

are going for the United Nations. Back in the United States on October 14, 1942 he has been busy through press and platform telling the world what Stalin and the Soviet people told him, what Chiang and the Chinese people told him, and this is no small service of the great cause for which this 'War of liberation' is being fought.

Readers of these paragraphs will confront me with grims and criticisms. Is this Willkie all perfect and all good? Is this Willkie a genuine champion of the cause of the exploited and down-trodden masses?

My answer is: I have given the devil his due. I know Willkie is a representative finance capitalist; I also know that his object is not unmixed selflessness. Being a keen student of national and international politics, economics philosophy and psychology, I have developed a vision which reads much more precisely than an ordinary reader, and what is more important, I have developed a keen eye for reading between and behind the lines. I therefore understand Mr. Willkie's limitations fully well. But an introduction is not a place where critical analysis could

be embarked upon. Conclusion is the proper place for it, and so I will say there, where I agree with Willkie and where I don't. Mr. Willkie's thesis will be laid bare in its naked beauty and naked hideousness, with a precision, directness and force that is only achievable in a Marxist criticism.

Here, in this introduction, I will only refer to the greatness of the man, to his honest objective vision, his stout and firm anti-Facism.

Mr. Willkie today is performing a distinctive service to the cause of the progressive humanity by demanding unified United Nations' strategy for the war. The leaders of the United Nations dare not turn a deaf ear to him—such is his position in the alignment of political forces in the United States.

A great step in this direction has been taken during the Cairo and Tehran Conferences. These conferences were made possible as a result of the demands made by the progressive forces all the world over—and Mr. Willkie's contribution in this behalf is really significant.

One very significant fact strikes me as I am about to conclude this introduction.

German blood flows in the veins of this stalwart anti-Fascist. It gives a lie both to the Nazis and the Germanophobes—it falsifies the racial doctrine of the Nazis and proves that there is nothing inherently vicious in things German.

This is Mr. Willkie. Now let us turn to what he has to say.

II

PERSONALITIES

General:

Countless were the people with whom Mr. Willkie made contacts, but naturally though all did not leave upon his mind deep and clear impressions, in his narrative, he has given beautiful pen-pictures of some of the leaders he met. Those pen-pictures are interesting, but no less instructive. Through these pictures he has conveyed what these men think and in a way that would easily go down the throats of ordinary literate men. And the personalities he has selected provide a good variety and serve as a cross-section of the leaders of the United Nations. Among them is the tough-guy, 'Monty', the firm

and determined leader of the Free-French; a seasoned Soviet Soldier who was mainly responsible for the fall of heavily fortified fortress of Rzev-likened by Hitler to half Berlin;—Simonov, the flower of Soviet journalism, Stalin, the only man among the leaders of the United Nations about whom the progressive minded humanity has no misgivings; Muratov, a sincere Bolshevik and a builder of modern Yakutsk; Chiang and Madame, the symbols of Chinese determination; General Chou, the communist who appeared to Willkie absolutely unobjectionable. Through these personalities Willkie presents the picture of the battle fronts, the workings of the minds of the leaders and a criticism of the policies of the Anglo-American Governments.

Montgomery:

It was on the eve of the great El-almien victory that Willkie met Montgomery. He met him at his head-quarters and was put up in an American automobile trailer. General Montgomery has a wiry, scholarly, intense, almost fanatical personality which made a deep impression on

Mr. Willkie. His passionate addiction to work was the most remarkable part of his character. In the first talks which Montgomery, the general kept on repeating in a quiet way: "Egypt has been saved." About Rommel Montgomery had a very high opinion. To quote his words to Willkie, "He is a trained skilled general; but he has one weakness. He repeats his tactics. And that is the way I am going to get him."

His scholarly habits did not leave him even in the midst of the battles. He was sorry that the "Boshes" (that was the name given by him to the Germans) had destroyed the warehouse in Dover where he had stored his books, the collection of a lifetime.

Montgomery was a lover of details and exactness. He did not like unnecessary meddling of words as no real soldier would.

In contrast to Montgomery were most of the other British Beaucrats. All of them are able administrators, all of them talked in the strain of Rudyard Kipling. Of course, a slight change was visible; but it never occurred to them that the great cataclysmic changes that were taking

place around them might affect their careers or their thinking.

De-Gaulle:

"The fighting French are not a movement. The fighting French are France itself. We are the residuary legatees of all France and its possessions." This is what General De-Gaulle told Mr. Willkie when he referred to his great interest in fighting French 'Movement.'

Willkie met De-Gaulle at Beirut where the General was living in a great white structure surrounded by elaborate and formal gardens. The General's private room contained in every corner and every wall busts, statues and pictures of Napoleon.

Mr. Willkie in representing De-Gaulle seems to have entered, though unwarily, into that unholy conspiracy to blackmail De-Gaulle and his associates. What De-Gaulle wants is a withdrawal of all Anglo-American interference and a free hand in the affairs of France.

Without that freedom, he knows, nothing

substantial could be achieved. Without that freedom the Darlan deals, the Labanon crisis and similar humbuggings cannot be liquidated. And Willkie himself dose not approve of the deal with Darlan. He ought to have seen into the Anglo-American conspiracy against De Gaulle and the Free French, But he missed it.

Lelyushenko:

Among all the personalities that Mr. Willkie met Lelyushenko stood out vividly. A young man of 38, he is a Lieutenant General in charge of sixteen divisions of fighting men at one of the most important fronts in the world. Mr. Willkie met colourful and engaging Lieutenant General Dmitri De Lelyushenko at his staff headquarters north of Rzhev. A man of medium height, powerfully built, a born horse-man, with bowed legs, betraying cossack origin, ruddy, alert, full of animal spirits—such is comrade Lelyushenko. The comrade General was at that time beginning the move to by-pass Rzhev and cut the rail road to Vyasma Preliminary to the dramatic lifting of the seise of Leningrad.

Willkie, at the front, saw and talked to some German prisoners who appeared to him miserable home sick boys and men. He talked about this impression to him and down came the reply "That is right Mr. Willkie; but don't be misled. The German equipment is still superb, and the German officers are proficient and professional. German Army organisation is unmatched. Even with such men as you see here, the German Army is still the greatest fighting military organisation in the world. But if your nation will send us the equipment we need, the Red Army will outfight them on every front from the Caucasus to the North Pole. For our men are better and they are fighting for their homeland."

We do not know whether Mr. Willkie's nation sent the equipment Comrade Lelyushenko needed but we know one thing. The Red Army did outfight the Germans on every front from the Caucasus to the North Pole, they enacted an epic at Stalingrad and disposed of the myth of Nazi invincibility for ever. We know that the Germans have been put on their defensive and the moment there is a real second front in the

West of any reasonable proportions Hitlerism is going to crack; and Taheran has created a confidence in us what we will not have to wait very long for this final defeat of the enemy of mankind.

A light incident in a talk with Lelyushenko symbolises the spirit of the Red Army. During supper Willkie asked the interpreter to ask the General just how large a section of Russia's two thousand mile front he was defending. The General looked at him as if offended, and the interpreter repeated after him slowly: "Sir, I am not defending. I am attacking."

The visit to the Rzhev Front convinced Mr. Willkie that in Russia the phrase "This is a People's War" had a real meaning. The Russian People have resolved to destroy Hitlerism. Five million Russians killed, wounded, or missing, the great fertile farmlands lost, her transportation system overloaded, her factories producing to the limit, a very great scarcity of food and fuel, absence of all clothing except for the Army and War-workers, no medical supplies--this was the picture Mr. Willkie got of the war time Russia. Even so, Soviet citizens were determined. the Soviet citizens had chosen victory or death. They talked victory only.

Simonov:

And here comes a journalist in Mr. Willkie's way.

American journalists whose names are known the world over are posted in Moscow. Walter-Carr, Leland Stowe, Maurice Hindus—to give only a few of the names—and many outstanding builders of public opinion were among them. They wanted Willkie to check for himself the kind of thinking and emotion that goes into the Soviet Press. They gathered together a group of Soviet Newspapermen,—Ilya Ehrenburg, reporter and novelist who has lived long in Western Europe and France; Boris Voyetekhov, the author, Valentina Genre, a Soviet newspaper-woman; and Simonov were among these—and with some interpreters and no officials, put Mr. Willkie with them in a room.

Simonov had returned from Stalingrad only on that day. This author of the "Russian People" is the flower of soviet journalism.

Mr. Willkie asked Simonov about the impressions that the german prisoners taken at the Stalingrad front made. He wanted to check up

the impression made on him at the Rzhev front. And Mr. Willkie received no reply. Why? The reason is most effectively presented by General Ignatiev here: "Mr. Willkie, it is only natural that you should not understand. When this War began, we all sought out german war prisoners, we cross-examined them. We wanted to find out why they had come to invade our land. We found out many interesting things about the Germans, and about what the Nazis had done to them.

But now it is different. Since the offensive last winter when we pushed the Germans back and recaptured many towns and villages they had taken, we feel differently. We have seen with our own eyes what the Germans did to our people and our homes. To-day, no decent Soviet Newspaperman would talk to a german, even in a prison camp."

That is one instance. Here is another-one giving us a peep into the character of Soviet journalists in general and of Simonov in particular.

Mr. Willkie made a suggestion. The suggestion was about sending Shostakovich, the renowned Russian Composer to America. That, Mr. Willkie

felt, would go a great way towards helping a better mutual understanding.

What did Mr. Willkie get in reply? A polite—nevertheless direct and such as only a representative of a new culture can give—reply came from Simonov: "Mr. Willkie, understanding works both ways. We have always tried to learn from America. He have borrowed a lot from you and have sent our best men to study in America. We know something about your country, not as much as we would like to, but enough to understand why you extend this invitation to Shostakovich.

You should send some of your men to study us. Then you would understand why perhaps, we do not respond warmly to your invitation. You see, we are engaged in a life and death struggle. Not only our own lives, but the ideas which have shaped our lives for a generation, hang in the balance at Stalingrad to night.

To suggest to us that we should send a musician to the United States, which is also involved in this war and where human lives also hang in the balance, to persuade with music of some thing, that is as plain as the nose on your

head, is in a funny way insulting to us. Please do not misunderstand me."

And Mr. Willkie notes: "I don't think I misunderstood him."

What quality do these utterances betray? Is it intransigence or firm determination? Is it an uncompromising attitude or a demand for first things first? Willkie interpreted this as intransigence and called it an uncompromising attitude. Willkie had misunderstood these fine specimens of cultured humanity.

Stalin:

For once we feel that reasons of military expediency ought not to have come in the way of Mr. Willkie's reporting about his two meetings with the only completely outspoken man among the heads of the United Nations. A Willkie is not needed to assure us that "he is one of the significant men of this generation." "Why do you feel shy, Mr. Willkie in characterizing him as the most significant man of this generation?" We

feel like putting this question to this great American.

Stalin appears to be having most of his conferences at night. A fair sized room about eighteen by thirtyfive feet is his office. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are seen all round in frames.

Five feet four in height, Stalin is a bit stocky. In contrast to his height, his head, his moustache, his eyes are big. His face is a hard one and he appears desperately tired. He talks occasionally with a moving eloquence.

Gifted with a driving mind, he put searching questions to Mr. Willkie.

The fate of Stalingrd was in the balance and Willkie asked Stalin about it. The realist that Stalin is, he did not give an optimistic reply. But what he said was sufficient to show the dogged determination of the Soviet People and of their leaders. The geographic military importance for him was secondary. The moral significance was what mattered more—moral significance for Russia, Germany and particularly

for the middle east. Love of home-land alone, nor pure bravery could win battles. Equally important were numbers, skill and material. It is only the last that the Russians wanted.

Stalin is a simple man. He does not pose. And not Stalin alone. All Russian leaders are simple men, dressed simply.

So far we agree with Mr. Willkie. But then comes a short sentence. That sentence takes away all the grace; that sentence exposes Mr. Willkie in the true colours that are hidden behind all these professions of solicitude for the Soviet Union. Here is that sentence: "Stalin is a hard man, perhaps even a cruel man, but a reliable one. He has few illusions." Hard? Granted, Mr. Willkie. But what is your evidence for calling this greatest lover of justice, fairplay and humanity of the contemporary world a cruel man? Where did you witness this vice in him? Or do you understand his hatred for Hitlerism for cruelty? Well, if that is so we want that vice to spread throughout the length and breadth of this world. But we understand you, Mr. Willkie. Behind that one word "Cruel" is a whole psychological obsession. All the tales and myths

about purges and the like are accepted by you at their face value. The other side of the matter, you have ignored; you have done a great injustice to the one man who, more than any other living being, should be considered immune from such absurd criticism.

Muratov:

"My name is Muratov. I am president of peoples commissars of the Yakutsk autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. I have instructions from Moscow, from comrade Stalin, to take care of you, while you are here, to show you anything you want to see, to answer any questions you may care to ask." Such was the reception accorded to Mr. Willkie as his plane stopped at an air field near Yakutsk by a man who stepped forward from a small group standing at the edge of the field.

That man was Muratov. His characteristic simplicity is visible in his self-introduction.

Muratov showed Willkie around the places, answered his questions and left a deep impression

on him. Willkie saw a lot of things in this Siberian out-post of the Soviet Union but none impressed him as much as Muratov.

Muratov is typical of the new men running the Soviet Union. A short stocky man with a round shining clean shaven face—such is Muratov. He is the son of a peasant farmer of the Volga. He was working at a machine-shop in Stalingrad. His intelligence attracted notice and he was picked up. Two years ago he was sent to Yakutsk as president of the council of commissars after passing through a course of higher education.

Thirty seven year old Muratov has been entirely educated after the October revolution and is at present running a republic five times as big as France. "He is a man who would do well in America; in his own country he was doing something more than that." This is Mr. Willkie's estimate of comrade Muratov.

Gissimo and Madame:

The leader of the Chinese people, the symbol of Chinese unity and determination is not an

individual—it is a couple. You cannot divide them. And their real greatness is seen in its full splendour when they are together. It may be in Chungking, Calcutta or Teheran—this couple is found together everywhere. Nowhere in the world will you find a whole nation dominated by one personality—as China is dominated by Generalissimo Chiang-kai-shek. Affectionately his name is shortened to Gissimo.

Willkie talked with Chiang about a number of problems, but the first that he names in his report is India. Of course he does not tell us anything about the nature of the talk. But we can guess it from the general trend of discussion and a short remark that is made in another context. Here is that very suggestive remark—a remark that tells us more than any report by Willkie could have done:

“Many men and women I have talked from Africa to Alaska, asked me the question which has become almost a symbol all through Asia: What about India? Now I did not go to India. I do not propose to discuss that tangled question. But it has one aspect in the east, which I should report. From Cairo on, it confronted me at every

turn. The wisest man in China said to me: "when the aspiration of India for freedom was put aside to some future date, it was not Great Britain that suffered in public esteem in the far East. It was the United States.

This wise man was not quarrelling with British Imperialism in India when he said this—a benevolent Imperialism, if you like. He does not happen to believe in it, but he was not even talking about it. He was telling me that by our silence about India we have already drawn heavily on our reservoir of goodwill in the East. People of the East who would like to count on us are doubtful. They cannot ascertain from our attitude towards the problem of India what we are likely to feel at the end of the war about all the other hundreds of millions of Eastern peoples. They cannot tell from our vague and vacillating talk whether or not we really do stand for freedom, or what we mean by freedom''.

Chiang-kai-Shek has a legendary reputation but to Willkie he appeared bigger than even that. A quiet soft-spoken man who when in his national attire makes an impression of a clerical scholar, rather than that of a political leader. He spends a part of his day regularly in prayers.

The Generallissimo came to power after a pretty hard struggle. He is proud of this fact.

Madame belongs to a family—the Soong family—that is a class by itself in Chinese life. Three brothers and three sisters are they. Trained by methodist missionaries in American Colleges, they have given to China an aristocracy of talent and political skill. One of the sisters is Madame Sun-yat-sen the widow of the founder of the Chinese-Republic. The other is the wife of the Generallissimo and the third one of Dr. Kung who manages China's finances.

Willkie invited Madame Chiang to America. The reasons for doing so give us a brilliant summary of this best known woman of the world.

“Some one from this section with brains and persuasiveness and moral force must help to educate us about China and India and their peoples and there Madame would be the perfect ambassador. Her great ability—and I know she will excuse me for speaking so personally—her great devotion to China are well known in the United States. She would find herself not only loved, but immensely effective. We would listen to her as to no one else, with wit and charm

a generous and understanding heart, gracious and beautiful manners and appearance, and a burning conviction" she is what is needed.

Madame has since visited America and has won a general applause.

Chou-en-lai:

Excellent, Sober, sincere, comrade Chou won Mr. Willkie's respect as a man of obvious ability. Living in Chungking, he works on a Communist Party Newspaper. He is one of the foremost leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. Both he and his wife are members of the peoples political council. In the civil wars fighting against the Generallissimo on the side of the communists he won the rank of General. The official family of China had never entertained him before. At Mr. Willkie's suggestion, he was invited to Dr. Kung's dinner party. He was greeted in a pleasant manner, though a cautious manner, by the men he fought against. General Stilwell greeted him with obvious respect because he had known him in Hankow ten years ago.

Dressed in a blue deming suit General Chou looks like a skilled worker. He has an open face with wide, serious eyes. He talks English slowly. General Chou though not satisfied with the pace of the domestic reform in China, was confident that the United Front between Kuo-min-tang and the Communist Party would last very certainly until Japan was defeated. He refused to make predictions about what would happen after the war. For Generalissimo, he had a deep respect. "He left me with a feeling that if all Chinese Communists are like himself their movement is more a national and agrarian awakening than an international or proletarian conspiracy"—thus records Mr. Willkie his impressions about him. The old prejudices come in the way of Mr. Willkie's correcting his judgements about communists. He treats comrade Chou as an exception. He does not give us any reason for doing so. Mr. Willkie will do well of course with an open mind—to meet more communists and then he will be convinced that communism is everywhere a national and inter-national awakening of the working men and is not a conspiracy.

III

PEOPLES

Willkie went through thirteen countries. The Soviet Union, China, Egypt, Iran, all these were covered. Only he could not come to India. He did want to. But Franklin Roosevelt did not want him to come to India—or rather Winston Churchill did not and Roosevelt had to bear the odium of refusal. Had he come to India, his report would have given us much more interesting and instructive material. Even without it, it is full of lessons. The common man has stirred all the world over. He wants to take his own destiny in his own hands. This is the unmistakable note ringing through Mr. Willkie's 'One World'. And these are not impressions-idealistic and Vague—of an ordinary traveller. These are

convictions of a man who saw and talked to hundreds of peoples in more than a dozen nations, talked intimately with many of world's leaders. His convictions are based upon things he saw and learned first hand from men and women, important and anonymous—whose words and actions give a meaning to their lives and beliefs.

The total impression left on him was not of the vastness of distance but of the astonishing proximity of nations. Modern means of transport, it appeared to him, had converted the world into a neighbourhood and it was no longer possible to think in terms of nations and countries. It has become of imperative necessity that we begin to think in terms of "One World" he felt.

What did Mr. Willkie See?

Here is what he saw in various places.

Middle East:

The middle East appeared to Mr. Willkie as a bundle of contradictions. The most up-to-date twentieth century Civilization had, here, got mixed up with medievalism. And the result

was a hybrid. Mr. Willkie also felt that this state of affairs needed a mending. It cannot be allowed to take its own course. It was a potential threat to all progress.

Here is a picture of the middle east. In the valley of the Nile, blind-folded water buffaloes going round irrigation pumps a complete contrast to the most modern repair shops in Cairo. Underfed children of Jerusalem contrasted with young French Cadets at Beirut. Arab boys and girls working in a blanket factory in Jerusalem and and the Polish refugees near Teheran: contrasts sharp colour and confusion.

There was enough explosive material here for a number of world wars.

Sympathy for America, a remarkably rapid transformation and a transformation that had the possibility of developing in any direction, and extreme technological backwardness coupled with its inevitable consequence—extreme poverty—these were the characteristics common to all the eastern countries.

Mr. Willkie's observation here, though materially correct is, in one important respect,

defective. There is a section of the people that is definitely pro-America. But there is a section which is pro-Axis and a very large section potentially so. It is the reaction against the existing imperialism that provides food on which such a psychology thrives. Had Mr. Willkie made an effort to dive a little deeper he would have found only one significant fact—a natural urge for freedom from political and economic slavery. He would, then, have directed his efforts towards convincing his countrymen about this. But that is not a function for Willkie—that is a function for others—Earl Browders and Harry Politts—and they are performing it to the best and maximum of their capacities.

We go a step further. Following upon the above diagnosis, social political physician Willkie provides this prescription—education, public-health modern industry, social dignity and self-confidence. Is this what the Middle East or the Far East or any other colonial country wants? Will this solve all difficulties? Freedom is, what we want, Mr. Willkie! No other recipes. But this prescription provides for us the clue that will explain Mr. Willkie's championship of the colonials.

Modern industry is the word that is the clue That will give a good market to America—is it not Mr. Willkie? Modern industry is of course needed—but that in context of political and economic freedom. Without the latter the former becomes a good investment proposition for big foreign finance; but in no way a step towards an improved standard of living.

Another thing Mr. Willkie notes is about the absence of a middle class in the Middle East. Mr. Willkie is right in so far as the pronounced existence of a class of intelligentsia constituted of the professions and similar other strata of society is concerned. But a total absence is not a fact.

There is a class—though a small one—which could be characterised as a middle class. With a development in society a clearer stratification is taking place. The potentiality for such a class is present here as anywhere in the world.

Mr. Willkie himself has indicated the presence of this class in his observations. He says he met in every city a group of restless energetic young people who knew about Russian revolution and its technique, of the Chinese people and their

heroic struggle, of mass movements and their methods of functioning. These groups, Mr. Willkie ought to have known, have a tendency of growing in a geometrical progression. The objective conditions are in favour of such a growth.

The Most important problem—the political problem is discussed by Mr. Willkie in an extremely shrewed manner.

I will quote here two paragraphs to show where Mr. Willkie stands. I will not say a single word in criticism. I will only underline those portions which appear to me to throw a light on the inner meaning of this otherwise sweet sounding harangue:

“Freedom or self-government talked about in the context of the Middle East, is too absolute a concept to be useful to an American. On the one hand, people who are against it point to the clash and confusion which would result if all these people were suddenly left free to rule themselves, On the other hand, people who are for it paint too black a picture of Western influence in the Middle East, describing it as sheer imperialist exploitation and forgetting the very

real gains which have come with French and British and American expansion there.

* * * * *

The pragmatist realist truth lies in the middle.

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I know this problem can be over-simplified in its statement and is not susceptible of easy answers. I know that the retention of points, such as Suez, the Eastern Mediteranian, and the roads through Asia Minor to the East, obviously, if our Western Democracy is not to be threatened by hostile forces, must be kept in both friendly and stabilised hands. Likewise, I know there is much historical and even present day justification for the current 'protective' colonial system....."

Turkey:

A large crawling Empire vanished and gave birth to a neat little modern nation twenty years ago. Little, but compact. A nation of sixteen millions only. But resolute sixteen millions those. They do not want to rule over

others, neither do they want to be dominated. Such is modern Turkey. It is an object lesson to learn what real political freedom can achieve.

Progress all round.

Industrial progress has been achieved all round. Of course, the industrial potential is not so high as that of Germany—the only nation which may attack it, but it is sufficiently imposing. Air fields, mechanized army equipment, railroads, modern building construction—all these are there.

Turkey illustrates the truth of the doctrine that Industrial Revolution is not the monopoly of any single nation.

Then there is a social educational revolution going on in Turkey. Men's minds are getting free from the shackles of the old dogmas. Turkish educational system has two main elements. It is modern and its basis is Turkish national culture.

The Turks do not want a war. Even so their defence preparations are impressive. They have a million men under arms. And what they

lack in mechanized equipment is made up by their deep determination. Any aggressor would meet a bitter, determined, savage resistance here—for here he will have to face the whole people.

Russia:

Ten days in the Soviet Union ordinarily would not give even an inkling of an idea about that vast region and with a still vaster variety of peoples and cultures that it embraces. But ten days for Wendell Willkie was quite a good time, equipped as he was with a penetrating vision and the technological assistance of the most modern means of transport and communication. In these ten days he passed through an experience which convinced him that 'Russia is a dynamic country, a vital new society, a force that cannot be 'bypassed in any future world.' No doubt his anti-communist prejudices did come in his way every now and then and in a picture otherwise honestly objective there are some dirty spots intruding into this narrative.

Let us see what Willkie saw and thought during this period. What were those things that led

him to a conclusion that Russia is an effective society and that America must work with it after the war.

A most impressive sight and the one that moved him to his very vitals was that at the Rzhev front. We have referred to that earlier in this analysis.

Another impressive sight that he saw was on the production front. The worker comrade did not do anything less than the soldier comrade at the front. Mr. Willkie provides us with an exhaustive report of a talk that he had with the superintendent of production of that plant. A duel purpose lurks behind this verbatim report of the conversation. Willkie argued and argued and tried to convince the comrade superintendent that the Soviet Socialist system did not provide sufficient incentive for an ever increasing efficiency. And in his concluding remarks, in his report he says that he found himself listening to Marxist and Leninist theories in a seemingly endless rush. According to Mr. Willkie basic questions were left unanswered by Marxism.

Okay, Mr. Willkie but you are not shrewd

enough. You have taken all the wind out of your own arguments and smashed the whole edifice that you built in support of that decaying system that goes by the name of capitalism by allowing one small paragraph to stealthily break into your report. Here is that paragraph.

"As I turned to go, I overheard Major Kight, our amazingly skillful and intelligent pilot say to Joe Barnes. 'Listen, don't let's get away before you explain to that fellow that Mr. Willkie was just trying to get him to talk. Sure, we in America like what money will buy and want to get ahead a bit, but it is not only money that makes us work.

This insignia in my shoulder brought me a big raise in pay when I got it; but at the same time I got this piece of ribbon here and that did not bring me a cent. You tell him that I'd give the rank and pay raise back for nothing, but I wouldn't give away the ribbon for a million dollars.'" That ribbon was the ribbon of the distinguished flying cross. So here is a national of Mr. Willkie's stating in plain and unmistakable terms that humanity thirsts for social appreciation and social service far more than for any pains

that money can confer. Thanks Mr. Willkie for being objective to a fault.

Any way Mr. Willkie has been fair to the Soviet Union. He says Russia is neither going to eat us nor seduce us. He, off course, does not agree with communism. He proposes an answer to communism—a living vibrant fearless democracy economic, social and political. The only question that arises is whether Mr. Willkie means what he says. What else is communism besides an economic social and political democracy? The only difficulty is that the ideals professed by democracy, the ideals of liberty equality and fraternity, are always slogans which never get translated into practice.

Yakutsk:

A territory five times as big as France, situated far in the east, is the Republic of Yakutsk, a unit of the Soviet Union. Yakutsk tells us what the new Soviet culture and civilization has achieved.

Consider the past history of Yakutsk. A

Nomad mongol people with high cheek bones, scanty eyes and black hair which still persist, inhabited this vast territory. Hunting for furs and picking the earth for gold, they lived in huts-low ceilinged, dirt-floored, smokey from open fires, with cattle and human beings living under the same roofs breeding places for tuberculosis. In the days of the Tzars, Yakutsk was famous for syphilis and furs. The only decent people who came there were the political prisoners exiled out of Russia, Yakutsk was known as the people's prison.

Look at Yakutsk to-day. The town of Yakutsk has a library with 5,50,000 volumes. Do even first class cities of India claim such a library? This is a library any town of its size might well be proud of. And Yakutsk has a first class theatre, and a museum. The social political consciousness of the people here finds no comparison outside the Soviet Union. Simple people who had never seen a German in their lives or who had not travelled west of the Ural mountains, talked and talked earnestly of the war for the father land.

And Education? Before 1917 only two percent of the people of Yakutsk were literate.

Ninety-eight percent could not read or write. Now the figures are exactly reversed. And said Muratov to Mr. Willkie "I have now received an order from Moscow to liquidate the 2 p. c. illiteracy before the end of the next year." The handling of the terrible problem of national and racial minorities is illustrated by this progress of this territory which was once and only twenty-five years back a habitation of nomads and savages.

This was Mr. Willkie's conclusion after his visit to this far-eastern autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: "the plain fact is: We have no choice in the matter. Russia will be reckoned with."

China:

China has made miracles. The soviet heroism may have come as a surprise to Churchill and Roosevelt. Those who assessed the strength of the new humanity created by the great October Revolution were confident about it. And even Bourgeois military experts like Max Werner, who kept their vision unblurred by prejudices could evaluate it properly. But with China, the story is

different. The economic and industrial potential which is demanded by a modern military machine is almost absent here. But there is one thing that explains this miracle. A whole people is up against an aggressor. To fight an army is one thing, to fight a nation of five hundred millions is quite another. And Japan has found the difference through a very bitter experience.

The heroism of China is better understood when we know that before Pearl Harbor, Japan was receiving war materials from the United States, the Burma road was closed by Mr. Winston Churchill and China was fighting the mighty Japanese arms which, within almost a twinkling of an eye, overran Malaya, Singapore, the East Indies and Burma. The only foreign aid that China received was from the Soviet Union. And even in the midst of so trying a strain as that of withstanding the mighty Nazi Armies on a two thousand mile front, almost single handed, the Soviet Union continues to send supplies to this gallant fighter against fascism as Mr. Willkie records in the book.

What are Mr. Willkie's impressions about China?

China, says Willkie, does not seek an Empire. To hold and build their lovely homeland is their objective.

Both in area and population China is much larger than the United States of America. China is not self-sufficient but self-sufficiency need not be an ideal in a democratic world—that is a totalitarian idea.

Sinkiang, the part of China in which Willkie entered first is geographically situated on the borders of the Soviet Union. The distrust of the Kuomintang for the communists is reflected very clearly in their appreciation of the problems of Sinkiang. And Mr. Willkie's impressions have been borrowed entirely from the Kuomintang outlook. The Soviet Union has always recognised the Chinese sovereign over Sinkiang. Not an incident has been reported of any border clash between the two nations. What definite evidence can Mr. Willkie adduce to prove his contention that Sinkiang is a kind of explosive amalgam full of meaning to those who are curious about what is going to happen to the world? Democratic that Mr. Willkie is he ought not to have, in good faith, any objection to a propagation of communist

ideology in any territory whatsoever. And the Soviet assistance in industrializing and developing the north-western provinces of China is not fraught with so many dangerous possibilities as would be for instance, American "assistance" in industrializing and developing the middle and the far-east. If, when discussing the problems of the middle-east, Mr. Willkie proposes "assistance" to the states of these territories by America, which has very definite ambitions for creating markets, why does he look askance at Soviet assistance in industrializing and developing China when the latter socialist society has no ambitions of organizing any foreign markets.

Sinkiang made a deep impression on Mr. Willkie. The vitality and strength of Asia met his eyes as he watched the Sinkiang army with its up-to-date mechanised equipment—though, of course, uncomfortably to Mr. Willkie, it was all Russian—with its neat well-trained and healthy soldiers. The most impressive part of the show was the charge of the wiry Mongol and Kazak cavalry.

Much of China, at present, lies under the jack-boot of the Japanese militarists. North-east

China and the whole of the coastal strip are under Japanese occupation. The only link that China has with the outside world is through the Soviet Union and the air transport route connecting China with India.

The Chinese provinces, five in the northwest and five in the southwest are administered from Chungking. The inexhaustible human resources of south-western China are the key to the sustained Chinese resistance to the Jap fascists.

Chungking, the Chinese capital, is the world's hilliest city. The Chinese in Chungking demonstrated that they were willing to receive any foreigner who came to lend them a helping hand. A mass demonstration of a character that astonished one who had run for American presidency must have been colossal.

China of Chiang-kai-shek is no democracy; but elements are there which potentially are democratic.

The Chinese communists have shown not in professions only but through action their willingness to subordinate everything else to the needs of their

nations independence. Treated with a suspicion as they are they do not take a single step that would endanger the strong united national front against Japan. Their leadership will lead China through democracy to socialism and ultimately to a society where everyone will work according to his abilities and every one will get according to his needs.

China's economic problem is a complex one. Years of war have been an unbearable strain upon that economy. China needs all the economic assistance that the world can give it. China has been fighting a war that is in a large sense, a war for defence of humanity. China's claim, therefore, is to be recognised as a front, not for the Chinese only, but for all the United Nations.

But China's economic problems cannot be understood in terms of the Wall Street jargon. Willke's efforts to explain these problems do not make any impression. Chinese economy is so different from the economy—the perfected finance capitalistic economy—of America that it will need a deep student of Chinese national economy to explain the intricacies and difficulties of that economy.

IV

WAR, WAR FRONTS AND PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

Wendell Willkie visited El-alamien, Rzhev and the Chinese front. The details of his observations are, no doubt, instructive and interesting, but their importance pales into insignificance before the general conclusions about military strategy that he has drawn after having discussed the decisive problems of war with Stalin and Chiang and Montgomery. His main contention is about the need of the unified United Nations' strategy.

El-Alamien provided the spectacle of the turning of the tide in favour of the United Nations a turning which has continued up-to-date

though, of course of late, it has adopted a snail's pace which removes to an undefinable remote date the possibilities of any remarkable achievements. El-Alamien victory is a lesson for the old school conservative British Military Experts. Those experts do not want any popular criticism which they characterize as unexpert criticism of strategy. Had it not been for the insistent and bitter vehemence with which the British Press and public demanded a change of command in Egypt, Montgomery would not have been placed in command there. The victory of El-Alamien, it is now accepted by all concerned, has been achieved by the newly perfected desert-war strategy of one man and that man is Montgomery. Where would the United Nations have been but for this change? The lesson of El-alamien is, therefore, clear and unequivocal.

Rzev provides another lesson and of greater importance. War cannot be won by heroism alone. Technique counts as much as the human element. Commander General Lelyushenko and Com. Stalin taught Wendell Willkie this all important lesson.

What was left unlearned in the land of the Nile and in the midst of a rising new

humanity was learnt by Mr. Willkie in and near the battle fronts of our valient neighbours, the Chinese. The Chinese foreign Minister T. V. Soong told Willkie about the necessity of a real coalition strategy of the United Nations. The tendency to let the war fall apart into a first-class war against Nazi Germany and a second class war against militarist Japan frightened Mr. Willkie and these fears were completely justified. Cairo and Teheran conferences have of course, taken a step in the right direction and the progressive forces all the world over have reasons to be thankful to Mr. Willkie for contributing in no small measure towards this development.

So of all things that Mr. Willkie has said in his book there is one thing—the demand of a real coalition United Nations strategy which all progressive and freedom-loving peoples can and must endorse without any reservations.

V

WILLKIE'S WORLD

"The Brilliant victories in the field will not win for us this war now going on in the far reaches of the world, that only new men and new ideas in the machinery of our relations with the peoples of the East can win the victory without which any peace will be only another armistice".

This is how Willkie defines the fundamental of his approach to the problem of the future world and his approach is based on his observations in his long sojourn. Willkie reports that people everywhere look to America because they were and are convinced of the fact that Americans do not want to impose their rule upon others or to exact privileges from them.

The most fundamental step that Mr. Willkie proposes is about an exact definition of War

Aims. He feels that these aims have not been properly defined and therefore desires that a council be set up to enunciate these aims.

Four attempts at such a definition have been reported by Mr. Willkie. A message to an American newspaper by Chiang-kai-Shek, a statement of purpose made on November 6th 1943 by Stalin, the Atlantic Charter and Franklin Roosevelt's proclamation of the four freedoms—these are the four aims. Chiang-Kai-Shek's statement to the effect that both isolationism and imperialism should be replaced by 'world co-operation of free nations—there will be no lasting security without that. This is quite a significant definition of war aims. And Stalin's statement of purpose is absolutely unambiguous and realistic: "Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of relations and integrity of their territories, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights, the rights of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes, economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their national welfare, restoration of democratic liberties, the destruction of the Hitlerite regime",

“This war that I saw going on all around the world is in Mr. Stalin’s phrase, ‘a war of liberation.’ Such is Willkie’s characterization of the war and his elucidation of this characterization says that liberation should mean and include the grant to all people of freedom on which all lasting self-government inevitably rests.

Not only does Mr. Willkie want an end of imperialism abroad, he also wants it to end in America. He wants that there should be no distinction between black and white, between jew and gentile, between foreign and native born.

VI

YES, MR. WILLKIE! NO, MR. WILLKIE!

So far we have confined ourselves to an analytical presentation of what Mr. Willkie saw thought and recorded in his report. Of course that analysis has been critical to an extent, as it cannot be otherwise. In this concluding section it is my purpose to state briefly my agreements and disagreements with what Mr. Willkie has to say.

I agree and I think all the freedom-loving progressive people will be with me in that agreement on the following points:

1. demand for a real coalition United Nation's strategy.
2. demand for an unambiguous enunciation of war aims,

3. his solicitude for the peoples of the east and his stalwart championship of democracy.

These are the points of disagreement:

1. In his criticism of the war aims as defined by the Atlantic Charter and Stalin's statement of purpose, he objects to an establishment of national states in Europe. I do not want to enter into the merits or demerits of that proposal. My only submission is that nations should be left free to determine their own forms of government. No federation economic or political could be thrust on them.

2. In his characterization of the present war Mr. Willkie says "The grant to all people freedom to govern themselves as soon as they are able". Why this phrase 'as soon as they are able'? Does this phrase not provide a permanent trap in which all grant of freedom will be imprisoned?

One word about Mr. Willkie's overflowing solicitude for the peoples of the East. Mr. Willkie is a representative of a highly developed finance capitalist oligarchy. That oligarchy knows that political imperialism is out of date and undesirable. Fostering nationalism it creates contradictions. Economic imperialism is on the other hand a

subtler form of imperialism. The masses of people do not feel the shackles because they are invisible. His demand for an end of the colonial system coupled with his strong criticism of the Soviet system and his strong advocacy of Bourgeois democracy is a recipe for the preservation of the outgrown and decaying system of capitalism. But as the days of imperialism are numbered so are the days of all forms of capitalism. Willkie or no Willkie capitalism is doomed.

Willkie's anti-fascism is unequivocal and therefore welcome. That anti-fascism itself is a contradiction of the present stage of capitalism. Decaying capitalism created a weapon to fight the rising tide of the next higher form of social organisation, that took shape in the Soviet Union. But the weapon was a double edged one. It went wild and capitalism is now busy helping that higher form of social organisation in destroying its very creation. With that weapon destroyed, no dyke is left to stop the flood of the high tide of progress, socialism and the end of all exploitation.

VII

WILLKIE MUDDLES THE WATER

Globe-trotting Mr. Willkie has come out in his true colours as the Soviet Union and the Red Army are coming to a successful achievement of their objective of the liberation of all the freedom-loving peoples. In an article under the sugar-coated caption of "Don't create distrust in Russia", in the "New York Times" he has tried to muddle the waters of the unity of the peoples against Fascism.

A message issued from Moscow on January 6th says:

"Mr. Wendell Willkie is strongly criticised in today's *Pravda* for raising the questions of the future status of countries on the Soviet Union's border, such as Finland, Poland and the Baltic States. He is accused of trying to run with the

hares and hunt with the hounds, in an article by M. Zaslavsky under the caption "Willkie muddles the water".

The *Pravda's* attack is a reply to an article by Mr. Willkie in the *New York Times*, on December 31. The *Pravda* says that Mr. Willkie's article, under the title 'Don't create distrust in Russia', at the first glance, appears to create the impression that it is dictated by friendly feelings towards Russia. "A huge majority of the American people stand for strong friendship with the Soviet Union, and because many readers are electors, their confidence is at the same time the confidence of the voters."

The *Pravda* cites Mr. Willkie's words at the end of his article: "The majority of our people in the depth of the souls, instinctively recognise the significance of Russia for the future well being of the United States. The majority of our people do not want to use the Russian problem in the political game." On that passage the *Pravda* comments: "From these words, it follows clearly that political gamblers, who want to utilise the "Russian problem" and cause distrust in the Soviet Union, cannot count on the votes of the

majority of the American people. It seems evident that Mr. Willkie does not approve of such a political game. He, evidently, wants to win the confidence of the majority of the American people, and this can be achieved by strengthening confidence in the Soviet Union.

Imagine an American reader who read only the headline and the last words of Mr. Willkie's article, says the *Pravda*. "He would have the impression the author was a man flatly opposed to any suspicious political gamblers, who play with the 'Russian problem', and who show more sleight of hand than frankness in thought. But there are not many simple minded readers who only read the headlines and the signature.

"An American reader, who is interested in the whole article by Mr. Willkie, will be surprised when he reads the following sentence: 'Every-one is, of course, concerned by one of the most important questions--the question of Russia's intentions respecting the Balkan States.'" The *Pravda* answers: "It is time to understand that the so called the question of the Baltic States is an internal affair of the Soviet Union in which Mr. Willkie should not interfere. Anyone, who

is interested in such a question, should refer to the Soviet Constitution and democratic plebiscites, which have already been carried out in those republics, and let him remember that we know how to protect our Constitution. As for Finland and Poland, without even mentioning the Balkan States, the Soviet Union knows how to deal with them and does not need Mr. Willkie's help there."

The *Pravda* concludes, that among the welter of words written to strengthen confidence, "there is the rotten smell of the familiar anti-Soviet slander. Mr. Willkie is reproducing suspicious cries from those reactionary groups who are afraid of the victorious advance of the Red Army and the armies of the Allies. Mr. Willkie talks about some crisis approaching the United States. Is this not a political game of the strangest kind?

The following cable from London appearing in the "Peoples War" the official organ of the Communist Party of India under the caption of "Polish Emigre Govt. unmasked" on January 30th 1944 is also relevant to the point:

"In its issue of Wednesday, the 19th January, *War and the Working Class*, the Soviet fortnightly stated:

'Poland was and is a neighbour of the Soviet Union and Soviet public opinion and circles cannot fail to be interested as to what sort of neighbour will be the restored Polish State after the War.'

After describing the Russian effort to solve the border question with Poland—the declaration of January 11 suggesting the Curzon Line as a basis for adjustment—the paper adds:

'Meanwhile the emigre Polish Government and its supporters do not wish to establish good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union.'

Maintaining that the pre-war Polish policy "supported territorial claims of the Aggressors" it continues:

'All this proves that the Polish Government intended to participate in the war on the side of Hitler Germany. The entire foreign policy of Poland since 1934 was directed towards this end. But reality turned out otherwise only because Hitler decided to transform Poland into one of his victims and not to take her as one of his allies.'

These quotations throw ample light on the problem and serve to clear the waters muddled by Mr. Willkie. Even so, I add a few facts

here. I find it necessary to do so because my talks with a number of friends has created an impression in me that their anti-Imperialism has created in them an anti-Soviet state of mind—emotional, and not rational that their anti-imperialism is. Journalists, authors and college Professors are among this class of people who happen to have a far-from-clear chaotic thinking.

I begin with a quotation from what Jawaharlalji wrote on 8th of November 1939—a short time after the march of the Red Army into Poland to take under their protection Ukrainian and Byelorussian minorities. Said Jawaharlalji: "Half of it (Poland) knows greater freedom to-day than she had ever experienced in the past and her representatives speak in Moscow's Parliament."

In the territory claimed and occupied by the Red Army in 1939, 92 per cent of the people are Ukrainian and Byelorussian. Together they are more than a crore of people.

The Polish state as it was constituted before the war started in 1939 was an explosive amalgam. Injustices were its foundation. In 1920 marshal Piłsudski had forcibly annexed

territories from the then young Soviet Republics. In 1939 colonel Beck and Smygly-Ritz had followed in his foot-steps by obtaining chunks from the rape of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis. That was a bribe to them to adopt an anti-Soviet attitude.

The Polish state before 1939 was, in fact, an imperialist state. Its rulers made no secret of this fact. They divided their state into Poland A and Poland B. The former was Poland proper and was to be industrially developed. The latter was the territory annexed from the Soviet Union and other states and was to be kept in colonial backwardness.

Similar are the facts about 'the Baltic States. A report appearing in the "Peoples' War" of the 30th January gives facts which clarify the position in respect to these republics. I, therefore, reproduce that report here.

"A special joint session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviets of the Soviet Baltic Republics dedicated to the third anniversary of the Republics was held on July 21, 1943 at the House of Trade Unions in Moscow. The achievements of these Republics in the one year of peaceful life

and constructive endeavour, and the fight waged against the occupationists were outlined by the Chairman of the Presidium. The sessions was also addressed by Latvian and Esthonian Red Army commanders.

A joint appeal to the peoples of Baltic countries adopted by the session urged greater resistance to the enemy and intensification of guerilla warfare.

In a message of greetings addressed to J. V. Stalin, Marshal of the Soviet Union, the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, pledged that they would stop at no sacrifices in the struggle and would not lay down arms until the last Hitlerite had been driven from their Soviet Country.

It was on July 21, 1940 that the age old striving of the Baltic peoples for freedom, for a state system providing for a government of the people and conditions insuring economic and cultural progress, was realised.

On that date the national assemblies elected by the entire people unanimously proclaimed Soviet Power in Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia and adopted declarations on joining the Soviet Union.

Already only after one year of Soviet Power, prior to Hitler's treacherous attack, the Baltic

people achieved tremendous progress. More than 200,000 peasants having no land or possessing small allotments were given land. Unemployment was abolished and the industrialisation of these countries pushed ahead at a fast pace. Unusual activity was manifested in the development of the national culture of the Esthonians, Lithuanians and Latvians.

For two and a half years now the German invaders have been attempting to enslave and annihilate the Baltic peoples. The Hitlerites have killed and tortured to death more than 350.000 people. More than one million have been impressed into slave labour or cast into prisons and concentration camps. The population of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia has been robbed clean by the Hitlerites. By terror, slander and falsification the invaders sought to stamp out sympathy for the Soviet state in the minds of the people. But these attempts have failed in face of staunch popular resistance.

Guerilla activity against the Nazi invaders has been steadily on the increase in all the Republics. The Nazi paper "Hamburger Fremdenblatt" some months ago complained

about the trouble caused to the German armies by Esthonian guerillas.

Lithuanian popular avengers have destroyed many food ware-houses and derailed a number of troop and munitions trains.

The number of guerillas in Latvia has more than tripled during 1943. More and more patriots are joining the struggle against the occupation forces. Sabotage is on the increase in industry, while peasants disrupt measures for requisitioning of produce.

National units of Lithuanians, Latvians and Esthonians are heroically fighting shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of the Soviet Union in the ranks of the Red Army.

Latvian units distinguished themselves during the Battle of Moscow. More than 900 Latvian men and commanders have been decorated by the Soviet Government, and the Lithuanian Rifle Division made into a guards' unit. Tens of thousands of Hitlerites have been wiped out by Latvian riflemen. A heavy toll of the enemy is likewise being taken by Latvian airmen.

Esthonian units of the Red Army won honors in the battle for Velikiye Luki; in

capturing this enemy keypoint they killed 3,500 Germans and took 1,500 prisoners. Heavy losses were inflicted on the enemy by the Lithuanian national units in the course of last winter's battles. Last summer, Lithuanian units staunchly withstood the attacks of large enemy forces supported by tanks.

The peoples from the Baltic republics, evacuated into the interior of the country, have won renown by their selfless labour. They, together with the men serving in the national units, have contributed 10,000,000 rubles for the building of tanks and planes. Writers, musicians, artists, scientists, dedicate their creative efforts to fighting the invaders, to victory."

Justice lies in demanding self-determination for the Poles, the Lets, the Lithuanians, the Esthonians, the Ukranians and the Byelorussians. The Soviet constitution guarantees that right. There is, therefore, no cause for all the mud-slinging that Mr. Willkie and people of his type are indulging in.

* * * * *

Just as this post-script-converted into a chapter in this revised edition—is on the point

of going to the press, I get my morning newspaper carrying a report of Mr. Churchill's war-review before the House of Commons on the 22nd of February 1944. Realistic Churchill in his inimitable style makes an unambiguous statement about the Polish issue and clears Mr. Willkie's muddle completely. I reproduce here the relevant portion from that war-review:

"The question is asked, I have heard, if the good relations established at Moscow and Teheran proved durable, or if, they have faded during the weeks that have passed. Does the 'Pravda' statement, for instance, or do articles which are appearing in various organs of the Soviet Government imply a cooling off in the Anglo-Russian or American-Russian friendship and the rebirth of suspicion of her Western Allies on the part of Russia? I feel fully entitled to reassure the House on that all-important point. None of the ground made good at Moscow and Teheran has been lost. The three great Allies are absolutely united in their action against the common foe. They are equally resolved to pursue the war at whatever cost to a victorious conclusion and they believe that a wide field of friendly co-operation lies before them after the destruction

of Hitlerite tyranny. It is upon such prolonged intimate and honourable association, that the future of the world depends.

I took occasion to raise personally with Marshal Stalin the question of the future of Poland. I pointed out that it was in fulfillment of our guarantee to Poland that Great Britain declared war on Nazi Germany and had never weakened in our resolve even during the period when we were all alone and that the fate of the Polish nation holds a prime place in the thoughts and policies of His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. It was with great pleasure that I heard from Marshal Stalin that he too was resolved upon the creation and maintenance of a strong integral and independent Poland as one of the leading powers in Europe. He has several times repeated these declarations in public and I am convinced that they represent the settled policy of the Soviet Union. Here I may remind the House that we ourselves have never in the past guaranteed to any Government any particular frontier line to Poland. We did not approve of the Polish occupation of Vilna in 1920. The British view in 1919 stand expressed in the so-called Curzon Line which deals, at any

rate, impartially with the problem.

"I have always held the opinion that all questions of territorial settlement and readjustment should stand over until the end of the war and that the victorious powers should then arrive at a formal and final agreement governing the articulations of Europe as a whole. That is still the wish of His Majesty's Government. However, the advance of Russian armies into Polish regions, in which the Polish underground army is active, makes indispensable that some kind of friendly working agreement should be arrived at to govern war-time conditions and to enable all anti-Hitlerite forces to work together with the greatest advantage against the common foe. During the last few weeks the Foreign Secretary and I together have laboured with the Polish Government in London with the object of establishing a working arrangement upon which the fighting forces could act and upon which, I trust, an increasing structure of goodwill and comradeship may be built between the Russians and the Poles.

"I have intense sympathy for the Poles—that heroic race whose national spirit centuries of

misfortune cannot quench. But I also have sympathy for the Russian stand-point. Twice in her life-time, Russia has been violently assaulted by Germany. Many millions of Russians have been slain and vast tracts of Russian soil devastated as the result of repeated German aggression. Russia has a right of reassurance against future attacks from the West and we are going all the way with her to see that she gets it not only by might of her arms, but by the approval and assent of the United Nations. The liberation of Poland may be achieved by Russian armies after these have suffered millions of casualties in breaking the German military war machine. I cannot feel that the Russian demand for reassurances about her western frontiers goes beyond the limits of what is reasonable or just." (Cheers)

EPILOGUE

Do not make mistakes about this Mr. Wendell L. Willkie. The old American isolationism has met its merited doom and has been flung on the scrap-heap of history. A new kind of isolationism is its appearance on the American stage. It finds expression through Willkies, Foulds and Wheelers. Speaking the language of idealism, it parallels the Nazi line for the propagation of dissension among the Allies. A new brand of anti-Soviet poison is being spread assiduously by this isolationism. The same breed of men who once asked: "why die for Danzig?" are now prepared to give their all for Bessarabia, the Baltic States and Poland!

Americans should give a cold Shoulder to these. Americans should back up the policy that is leading the United Nations to Victory. Americans should refuse to vote for Willkie or any other isolationist of this variety.



